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A team of élite builders

3,362nd US Plane Downed in DRVN

ON September 20, a drone was shot down in Hoa Binh province, southwest of Hanoi, bringing the total of enemy aircraft downed by our AA defence since August 5, 1964, the beginning of US war escalation, to 3,362.

WIDESPREAD SUPPORTS FOR RSVN PRG NEW INITIATIVE

VICE-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Hun Dam, in a talk with the RSVN Ambassador to Korea, hailed Mme Nguyen Thi Binh's clarifications on a number of points in the overall 10-point solution.

IN Havana, Cuba, Jesus Montane, CC member of the Cuban Communist Party, Minister of Telecommunications, told the RSVN Ambassador that the South Vietnamese patriots' new initiative was a new expression of their good will in the search for a political settlement of the Viet Nam issue.

IN Cairo, UAR, Hassan Helmi Belbel, Foreign Vice-Minister, assured the RSVN Ambassador that the UAR people and government resolutely supported the Vietnamese people's struggle. He found that on the diplomatic front the South Vietnamese patriots always displayed unfailing good will whereas on the battlefield they scored great gains.

IN Stockholm, Sweden, Foreign Minister Torsten Nilsson stated in a talk with the DRVN Chargé d'affaires, "Like our Prime Minister Olof Palme, we have many times declared our support to the RSVN PRG's position on the settlement of the South Viet Nam problem. The establishment of a provisional coalition government is necessary and important."

IN the USA, Republican Senator O. Hatfield said that the PRG new offer "merited consideration and should not be lightly discarded." "I think we ought literally to seize every possibility to negotiate for an end to the war," he added.

Senator W. Fulbright hold that Nixon should "go very far toward a settlement" of the Viet Nam problem and that, in the coming interview with his Paris talks representative Bruce, he should "examine seriously the new initiative" of the PRG. He also declared that "a change of government in Saigon could be a major step toward peace in Viet Nam" (*AFP*, Sept. 27).

IN Saigon, under American occupation, all the dailies from September 19 to 21 front paged Mrs Nguyen Thi Binh's declaration at the September 17 session of the Paris Conference.

"Mme Binh's 8-point feeler," said *Tin Mat* (Classified News), "contains new aspects and new elements, and opens the door to a speedy settlement of the Viet Nam war. The NFL is ready to sit down at the same table with the Saigonese and, out of 15 million South Vietnamese fellow-countrymen, it objects to only three persons."

Six Months after the March 18 Coup d'Etat

Considerable Successes, Remarkable Progress and Bright Prospects for the Cambodian Patriots

WASHINGTON'S INTERFERENCE AND SCHEME

SIX months have elapsed since the day when Lon Nol, Sirik Matak and their confederates seized power in Phnom Penh. Thus, after many attempts foiled by the vigilant Cambodian people and their Head of State, the US imperialists — the real authors of that coup d'état — were successful at last. On the long list of crimes they have perpetrated against Cambodia, let us mention only the following:

— November 1954, Foster Dulles arbitrarily put that country under the "umbrella" of SEATO, Washington's instrument of aggression.

— In 1958, CIA engineered a military coup against Norodom Sihanouk, by the abhorred traitors Son Ngoc Thanh, Sam Sary, Daf Chuol... in collusion with the Saigon and Bangkok quislings. The plot was nipped in the bud.

— August 1959, a parcel sent to Norodom Sihanouk exploded when the Master of Ceremonies unwrapped it in the Royal Palace. The Cambodian Head of State had a miraculous narrow escape, while three people were killed. An investigation into the attempt showed the hand of the CIA.

— The White Book published in 1969 by the Cambodian Foreign Ministry revealed that from 1962 to 1969 the Yankees, battered in South Viet Nam, committed, either directly or through the medium of their Saigon and Bangkok lackeys, 7,178 territorial violations in Cambodia, inflicting 983 casualties and serious damage on the borderers.

— A few days before the March 18 putsch, one still remembers, the US ship *Eagle* was "captured by her crew" and took "refuge" in the Cambodian territorial waters.

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DRVN MOURNS
PRESIDENT GAMAL ABDEL NASSER

DRVN President Ton Duc Thang has sent the following message of condolences to Anwar El Sadate, Acting President of the United Arab Republic, upon the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser:

"I am deeply shocked by the news of the passing away of President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

President Gamal Abdel Nasser was a State leader who rendered great services to the UAR people's overthrow of the feudal regime and imperialist yoke, defence of national independence and building of a prosperous UAR.

He led the UAR people in uniting with the peoples of other Arab countries in the struggle against the US imperialists and the Israeli aggressors, and has made important contributions to the cause of solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries struggling against imperialism and colonialism, for independence, freedom and peace.

He was a warm supporter of the Vietnamese people's resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, and promoter of the friendly relations between the UAR and the DRVN.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the DRVN Government and in my own name, I wish to convey to Your Excellency, the UAR Government and people and the family of the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser, our heartfelt condolences."

A delegation of the DRVN National Assembly and Government headed by Premier Pham Van Dong called at the UAR Embassy in Hanoi on Sept. 30 to pay last tribute to President G.A. Nasser.

A mourning wreath was sent to the UAR Embassy by President Ton Duc Thang.

The DRVN Government has decided that flags on all Government buildings be flown at half mast on Oct. 1, 1970.

A government delegation led by Dang Thi, Minister and Vice-Chairman of the State Planning Committee, left for Cairo to attend President G.A. Nasser's funerals.

DRVN *in Brief*

• On the occasion of the National Day of the **Arab Republic of Yemen** (September 25), President Ton Duc Thang sent a message of congratulation to Abdel Rahman Al Iriany, President of the Arab Republic of Yemen.

• Truong Chinh, member of the Politbureau of the VNWPCC, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, received on September 23 the delegation of the **Japanese Socialist Party** headed by its chairman, Tomomi Narita.

The delegation left Hanoi on September 26.

• In implementation of an agreement between the DRVN Red Cross and that of the **Kingdom of Thailand**, a delegation of the DRVN Red Cross went to Bangkok to discuss with the Thai Red Cross problems regarding the Vietnamese residents in Thailand.

• At the invitation of the DRVN Supreme People's Court, a delegation of judges of the **People's Republic of Congo (B)** led by Mondileno Massengo Aloyse, member of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party, Minister of Justice and Labour of the People's Republic of Congo arrived in Hanoi on September 27.

• On the occasion of the International Day of Friendship with the **Puerto Rican** People (Sept. 23) and the **Mozambique** People (Sept. 25) the *Nhan Dan* (The People) daily, central organ of the VNWP, ran an article expressing the Vietnamese people's support to the just struggle of these countries against colonialism and neo-colonialism the ringleader of which is US imperialism.

• Thai Binh province has reaped a good reed harvest. The acreage was twice as wide compared with last year, the total output trebled and the yield reached 4.5 tons per hectare (as against 3.7 tons in 1969).

In the same province, the areas under mulberry in the first half of 1970 doubled last year.

• A national theatrical festival has just wound up. The DRVN Ministry of Culture awarded gold medals to the three following plays:

The Call of the Front, the theme of which is drawn from the fight against the US war of destruction, performed by the Hanoi Theatre.

De Tham, a classical play on historical subject, staged by the Central Classical Theatre.

In the Steps of Our Elders, a play of the "Reformed Theatre" of Ha Tay province.

Silver medals have been conferred on 27 others.

I – THE US SHOULD WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS TOTALLY, UNCONDITIONALLY AND PROMPTLY

Hanoi Press Opinion

On Mme Nguyen Thi Binh's CLARIFICATIONS

WITH the "mutual troop withdrawal" demand and the ludicrous "North Viet Nam's aggression against the South" charge, the Nixon administration obviously wants to put on a par the US expeditionary troops who are the aggressors and the Vietnamese people who are the resisting victims of aggression. They want to keep Viet Nam divided, deny the sacred right to self-defence to the Vietnamese people in fighting back against the aggressor troops on their own land, and legalize US aggression. The "mutual troop withdrawal" proposal is also a scheme of Nixon to prolong the war and to shift the responsibility for this on the Vietnamese people.

The suggestion being resolutely rejected by the Vietnamese people and criticized by broad public opinion, Nixon has switched to advertising noisily his program of "Vietnamizing" the war, including the question of withdrawal of US troops. He has claimed that Vietnamization is aimed at ending the war, and US troops would be brought home and replaced by Saigon puppet troops. Since the middle of last year, Nixon has pulled out a small part of US forces and made quite a din about this. This move at first did sow confusion in the mind of some people. But in more than on year past, through the words and deeds of the US President, public opinion has more and more clearly realized the US crafty scheme: such troop withdrawals as ordered by Nixon are only a manœuvre to deceive the people in the United States and the world; in fact, they are aimed at dragging out the war, not ending it...

Nixon has also contended that the US could not withdraw precipitately, because, he said, such a precipitate withdrawal would cause a "bloodbath" in South Viet Nam and the collapse of the confidence in the US...

With the aim of enabling the Paris Conference to progress, Minister Mme Nguyen Thi Binh, after re-affirming the principled position of the PRG for the cessation of the US aggression and the withdrawal of all US and satellite troops, has stated: "In case the US government declares it accepts the proposed date-line, (June 30, 1971), the RSVN PRG will order the People's Liberation Armed Forces to refrain from attacking the withdrawing US troops and those of the other foreign countries in the American camp, and the parties will discuss at once the question of ensuring safety to all those leaving troops, as well as the question of releasing captured militarymen."

The elaboration on the withdrawal of US troops as mentioned above once again sheds light upon the principled position, good will and serious attitude of the RSVN PRG in seeking a sound political solution to the South Viet Nam question and restoring peace in Viet Nam. The clarifications meet the legitimate demands and aspirations of the South Vietnamese people, the progressive people in the United States and the world's peoples. They also quieten the American people's concern about the fate of the American soldiers still serving in the expeditionary corps or under detention in Viet Nam.

NHAN DAN
(The People)
Sept. 25, 1970

II – THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

86th Plenary Session of Paris Conference on Viet Nam (October 1, 1970)

US ATTITUDE REMAINS OBSTINATE

MINISTER Xuan Thuy, head of the DRVN delegation, pointed out that the Nixon administration still persisted in refusal to respond to the PRG new peace initiative. This proved not only its intention not to withdraw all its troops from South Viet Nam but also its scheme to indefinitely occupy it with an important part of the American Expeditionary Corps with a view to turning it into a neo-colony and an American military base, and maintaining there a puppet regime at its beck and call.

FOR all his efforts to doll up Thieu-Ky-Khiem, Nixon can never cover up the ugly features of his henchmen. Nixon calls them "allies" and has even described Thieu as "one of the four or five most capable politicians in the world." But in the eyes of the people in the United States and other countries, Thieu-Ky-Khiem are but a pack of "running dogs," "offsprings or foster-offsprings" of the US.

Nixon has done his best to peddle Thieu-Ky-Khiem's "good will for peace," but to any honest man they are just a group of war-like and blood-thirsty fascists who have openly proclaimed Hitler their idol.

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THE WORKING CLASS
Vanguard of the Country

The D.R.V.N. is 25 Years Old

FOR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION AND NATIONAL REUNIFICATION

SINCE the re-establishment of peace in the North in 1954, the working class has been playing a decisive role in national rehabilitation.

18 big hydraulic works were rebuilt.

28 industrial enterprises were restored and enlarged; some of them were modernly equipped; 50 new ones were commissioned. Lines of communication were repaired and broadened. The gross output value in 1957 reached that of 1939, the best year before the war.

The TU law voted on September 14, 1957 by the National Assembly represented an important achievement of the workers' and TU movement.

In State enterprises, the TU organizations encouraged workers to take part in the blueprinting and fulfilment of the production plan by organizing conferences on production. They called on them to help improve technique and management. In three years, the workers proposed over 60,000 innovations; 12,190 national élite workers and 23,308 vanguard workers were chosen. Over 100,000 idle workmen were able to find jobs. The living standard of the workers was gradually improved.

The working class took an active part in the transformation of relations of production which were completed in the main in 1960. By that time, 87.9 per cent of handicraftsmen and 84.6 per cent of small traders were grouped in handicraft co-operatives or collective production groups. Private industrial and commercial enterprises were re-organized into joint State-private enterprises. From 15.79 percent in 1959, the share of the socialist sector in the national income rose to 62.7 percent in 1960. It made up 90 per cent of the total value of industrial output.

Two movements were launched successively to strengthen the new relations of production: the one in 1958 to streamline the management of enterprises; the other to raise the sense of responsibility of the workers, improve economic and financial management, perfect technique and combat bureaucracy, corruption and waste.

The establishment of the first material and technical bases of socialism made swift headway. At the end of 1965, 1,236 industrial enterprises were built 200 of which, of big size, were run by the central administration. Heavy industry turned out half the means of production required locally. Light industry met 80 per cent of the home needs.

That construction work was achieved by the strenuous efforts of the working class. In ten years, the ranks of workers increased ten times. In 1965, there were 600,000 workers: 186,700 in industry, 60,000 in agriculture, 40,000 in construction, 20,000 in transport and 300,600 in handicraft co-operatives.

The new recruits, who made up 90 per cent of the total number, came mostly from the countryside. Tens of thousands of demobbed soldiers, and cadres regrouped from the South, swelled their of total. With their sense responsibility and discipline, the workers were the backbone of the new labour force. Seventy per cent of these new workmen were under 30.

Freed from feudal fetters, many women join the workers' ranks. In 1965 they represented 30 per cent of the whole industrial work force. In some branches and workshops, the percentage fluctuated between 60 and 70.

Together with the growth of the working class, its mass organizations and TU have been expanding too. The number of trade-unionists rose from 140,000 in 1955 (with 1,099 grassroots organizations) to 766,493 in 1965 (including also cadres of the State apparatuses).

Illiteracy was liquidated among the workers as early as 1958. Since then, their cultural level has kept rising. By 1965 virtually all of them had finished primary education and half of them elementary education. The number of those who have completed secondary education or higher education has been on the upgrade. Education for adults organized in the form of night classes or correspondence courses is run in all factories, State farms and construction sites. Libraries are available to the workers who see their ideological standard and class consciousness raised thanks to political discussions organized for them.

Electricity for agricultural co-ops

NEVER at any moment has the working class neglected the resistance against US imperialism. It has spared no effort to support the workers and people in the South.

A great initiative, the "Saturdays of production for national reunification" launched by Gia Lam railwaymen has been kept by all workshops and factories in North Viet Nam. Responding to President Ho Chi Minh's call, our workers have been in the van of the "do double work in acknowledgment of the sacrifices made by our Southern kith and kin" emulation drive. There are many workers' brigades which adopted South Vietnamese hero Nguyen Van Troi, pledging themselves to do the additional job of another worker.

FIGHTING US AGGRESSION

POLITICAL action was accompanied by armed struggle when Washington escalated the war to North Viet Nam. One of the major objectives of the US was to destroy the nascent industry of the DRVN.

Significantly enough, the first air raid was mounted on the Hongay coal mines on August 5, 1964. On that day, the first American pilot was captured in North Viet Nam by the workers' militia.

The Hongay workers' example was followed by many others. The militiamen of the Thanh Hoa chromium mine were the first to down an American plane on Sept. 9, 1965. Those of P. enterprise at Huong Khe, Ha Tinh province, shot down an F-4, those of the "March 8th" Textile Mill in Hanoi brought down a pilotless plane with 14 machinegun bullets.

Militia units were set up everywhere: in workshops, construction sites, handicraft co-operatives, State farms, making 22 per cent of the total number of people's militia. Thirty per cent of workers' militia were women. Armed with rifles, machineguns, even AA guns, the workers' militia fought in 1966 and 1967 2,571 engagements against US aircraft, grounded 23 planes and captured 5 pilots. They built tens of AA shelters and dug tens of thousands of miles of communication trenches.

That effort was coupled with the battle for production. US bombings could not prevent socialist construction from going on. It was necessary to meet the needs of national defence, keep communications and transport going and supply necessaries to the people.

To continue production, workshops and handicraft co-operatives had to be dispersed. Millions of tons of machines and materials were moved to the countryside and jungle. Production was "decentralized" in workshops set up everywhere.

Stress was laid on local industry which was given a fresh fillip. With the assistance of evacuated workers, over 1,000 local enterprises and nearly 3,000 handicraft co-operatives saw the light of day.

In 1966, despite fierce air raids, heavy industry overfulfilled the State plan by 1.3 per cent, light industry by 9.1 per cent and transport by 70 per cent.

The workers displayed unlimited self-abnegation. During the alerts welders continued to work on Ham Rong bridge, a fat target for US war planes. Near the structure the power station never ceased humming. The militiamen of the works coupled production with AA defence. The workers of the Vinh Power Plant worked on while the plant was the target of 300 bombardments.

The battle on communication lines was particularly bitter. The Dong Loc crossroads in Ha Tinh province were struck 332 times in a year during which 8,000 tons of bombs were dropped. La Thi Tam, a young girl, mounted guard in that "bomb bay" for 116 days and nights running to detect time-bombs. Vo Xuan No was the first to defuse them. In 1968 alone, 10,982 bombs of that kind were disposed of.

The working class was tempered and developed in the crucible of war. In four years of fighting, its number shot up to 480,000. Seventy per cent of them were youth. From 23 per cent in 1965 the ratio of women rose to 30 per cent in 1968. Substituting for men gone to the front, many of them held responsible posts.

The cultural and technical standards of the workers continue to rise. In some branches (engineering, electricity, industrial chemistry, metallurgy) all the workers have completed primary education. Many of them have had secondary schooling. Thousands of others have become engineers. Tens of thousands of skilled workers have been trained.

Socialist work teams and brigades have been numerous. In light industry for instance, their number soared from 208 in 1965 to 1,296 in 1968. Some of them have been honoured for many years running like the third group of A team of the Nam Dinh Textile Factory, the workwomen group of the rice-cooking section of the Hanoi Distillery.

The creative activity of the working class is inexhaustible. The railwaymen were credited with 2,055 innovations in 1965 and 2,534 in 1967. Some of these imaginative workmen have achieved national fame, such as Nguyen Hoang Thoan of the Hanoi Engineering Plant, Hoang Trung Vinh, of the Telecommunication Works, Dao Thi Hao, weaver of the Nam Dinh Textile Mill, etc.

SOCIALIST construction and the fight against US aggression require tremendous exertions from the Vietnamese workers. The budding Vietnamese working class still has much to learn in the technical as well as in the managerial and ideological field. No doubt, however, that under the leadership of its Party, it will live up to all its national and international commitments.

Considerable Successes ...

(*Continued from page 1*)

This synchronization by the US special services was aimed at supplying arms and ammunition to the coup-makers, whose crime had been announced in Saigon by Nguyen Van Thieu a few hours before it actually took place.

The perfidy of the US imperialists was many times denounced by the Cambodian government and its Head of State. In an editorial in the December 1969 issue of the *Sanghum*, a French language magazine, Norodom Sihanouk wrote "As admitted by the American press itself, the CIA and other 'agencies' have engineered plots against our unity, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity, let alone their corruption of part of civilian and military élite, their support to the 'Khmer Serei' and their many attempts upon my life during the last few years..."

The aim of the Washington rulers is quite patent. Their strategists have for long dreamed of checking the revolutionary upsurge in Southeast Asia with obstacles raised by a series of US-manipulated countries: South Viet Nam, Cambodia, Thailand, Laos... In the near future, the US sway over Cambodia would make it possible to isolate the resistance of the Vietnamese people in the South, relieve the PLAF pressure on the American and puppet troops, reduce the US losses so as to be able to pull out in safety part of the US expeditionary forces.

FROM DREAM TO REALITY

HOWEVER things are not the same as before. The course of history is steered much more by the people than by the imperialists, be they American. Events in the last six months in Cambodia have substantiated it.

Militarily Washington has spared no efforts: 8 then 40 million dollars in military aid have been successively granted to the Phnom Penh quislings. Arms deliveries have been made at an accelerated tempo. Induction has enabled Lon Nol to raise the number of his battalions to 150 (half of which are still lacking of arms and equipment).

However, the losses were very heavy for the quislings and their bosses. According to a recent communiqué released by Khmer Information Agency (*AKI*) at least 110,000 GIs and Saigon, Bangkok, and Phnom Penh troops were wiped out or had crossed over to the side of the patriotic forces or gone over the hill (See *Table I*). In less than one and a half months, up to the end of April, tens of Lon Nol battalions were knocked out, decimated or disbanded. The Yankees unleashed the Saigon mercenaries on many areas in Cambodia in the last week of April. On April 30, facing the imminent collapse of the Phnom Penh clique, Nixon ordered a naked aggression against Cambodia by US forces allegedly to "destroy Viet Cong sanctuaries." But the main objectives set by the US command were far from being attained: far from collapsing, the patriotic forces grew at a very quick rate. In Operation "Cambodia," 12,000 GIs and 18,000 puppet troops were put out of action. Like a prairie fire, the patriotic war spread to all the nineteen provinces of the Kingdom, enmeshing the reactionary forces in a powerful tangle they are incapable of getting out of (See *Table II*).

Since then, the patriotic forces have liberated two-thirds of the territory and 3 million out of a total 7-million population.

TABLE I

KHMER NLAF - INFLICTED ENEMY LOSSES

From March 18 to September 18:

— Nearly 110,000 casualties (over 38,000 GIs and Saigon puppets).

— A hundred battalions (3 brigades and two battalion groups) wiped out, decimated or disbanded.

— Thousands of millions of tons of weapons, munitions and military equipment seized or destroyed.

Up to June 30 (day on which US troops pulled out of Cambodia after two months of aggression):

12,000 GIs and 18,000 Saigon puppet soldiers knocked out.

50,000 Phnom Penh troops wiped out or disbanded.

2,400 vehicles damaged, mostly armoured cars.

400 aircraft and choppers downed.

Hundreds of ordnance pieces blasted out of commission.

Hundreds of military vehicles, scores of thousands of fire-arms, thousands of tons of ammunition, of foodstaff and military equipment captured.

TABLE II

SOME SUBSTANTIAL SUCCESSES OF KHMER NLAF

— *Section of Highway No 7* (in Fish Hook area): 4,000 GIs and Saigon puppet troops and 400 military vehicles put out of action, 50 aircraft and choppers grounded, 40 guns and mortars destroyed (May 1-15).

— *Section of Highway No 7*: two Saigon puppet battalion groups decimated, 3,800 men knocked out, 430 military vehicles blasted out of commission (July).

— *Kirirom*: 9 Lon Nol battalions wiped out or badly mauled, nearly 100 tons of armament seized (July 11-27).

— *Skoul*: 7 Lon Nol battalions written off or depleted (July 31-August 7).

— *Sanke Satop*: Lon Nol troops suffered 1,000 casualties, including a colonel, a captain and a number of NCOs, over 1,000 fire-arms captured (August 4).

— *Srang*: the place occupied, hundreds of adverse soldiers put out of action including a whole battalion (end of August).

— *Taing Kauk area* (Highway No 6): 10,000 Lon Nol troops encircled and harassed incessantly with heavy losses (early September).

Politically, the emergence of the National United Front of Kampuchea which has rallied behind Head of State Norodom Sihanouk all progressive and patriotic political tendencies, all ethnic and religious groups, was a fundamental gain of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Cambodian people. A National United Royal Government has been formed, headed by Samdech Penn Nouth. A dozen members such as Khieu Samphan, most respected in the country for their integrity and talents, have been leading the resistance in the liberated zone. The power is exerted by administrative organs over all the provinces, down to *srok* (districts) and *phoums* (villages). First-hand accounts of many Western journalists who spent weeks in the liberated zone have given the lie to the slanders of US and puppet services against the resistance of the Cambodian people.

This extraordinary development of the patriotic movement in Cambodia is due to the general realization of the people of the US-imperialists' and their valets' cynicism. It can be said in this respect that the Cambodian revolutionary forces have made giant strides.

Meanwhile, according to the Western press, the writ of the quislings does not run beyond the town boundaries so much so that Lon Nol has been nicknamed "mayor of Phnom Penh." Dissensions and rivalries have been tearing more and more critically the various reactionary cliques.

Internationally, the National United Royal Government was immediately recognized by governments of 24 countries, and has enlisted the support of all progressive peoples and nations in the world. Its credit has been confirmed at the recent conference of non-aligned countries at Lusaka, where 21 countries came out for it against a tiny minority supporting the Lon Nol clique, made up of such Washington's placemen as Adam Malik of Indonesia and Abdul Rahman of Malaysia. The success of the Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference in April last to seal the solidarity of the Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian peoples, was also an important landmark of the Cambodian people's road to victory.

SIX months is but a short spell of time in the millenary history of the Cambodian people who rightly take pride in their Angkor civilization. But the great success and progress obtained since the March 18 coup in their struggle to safeguard independence, freedom and national dignity have come as no surprise to even the less informed observers. They are due, in the first place, to the sound political line of the National United Front and its leader Norodom Sihanouk, and to the fervent patriotism and indomitable spirit of the Cambodian people.

The Cambodian people still have to face many difficulties created by the obstinacy of the Nixon administration bent on prosecuting its aggressive policy in Indochina and the world. But facts in the last six months have supplied a sure earnest of the final victory of that heroic people.

H.X.B.

NIXON: the Man and His Policy

II. The Disunited States

VO NHAN TRI

(*Continued*)

THE twin problems—racism and misery—have merged in our society (US—*VNT*) into the urban problem, said a Washington lawyer.

The urban crisis, true quintessence of the "American crisis," faithfully reflects the basic contradictions of the US state monopoly.

CRISIS OF TOWNS, EDUCATION AND HEALTH SERVICE

As early as Autumn of 1966, L.B. Johnson said that no domestic problem was more "critical" for the US than the reconstruction of urban centres.

H. Humphrey, then Vice-President, acknowledged also in September 1966 that American cities looked often like a "hell."

Senator Jacob Javits said that this crisis is the dirtiest business of our times.

The Johnson Administration's main proposal regarding the problem of urban crisis was, as is known, a draft law on the creation of "pilot-cities" with a 900 million dollar-subsidy granted in two years. Trying by this way to settle the urban crisis is tantamount, as Marquis Childs of the *Washington Post* wryly remarked, to trying to empty the sea with a coffee spoon.

The mayors of big American cities said at Congress that to solve that problem, at least one thousand billions dollars would be required and this, for a "good start" only, they said. At present nearly 70 per cent of Americans live in the cities and according to demographic previsions, toward 2,000, this would reach 75 or 80 per cent.

"Are our cities prepared for such an influx?" asked President Nixon in a message to Congress on the problem arising from town population growth (July 1968). And he gave himself the answer: "The chaotic history of urban growth suggests that they are not and that many of their existing problems will be severely aggravated by a dramatic increase in numbers." He suggested then that, "We would have to build a new city of 250,000 persons each month from now (1969) until the end of the century."

However, according to *US News and World Report*, up to now the "cautious" recommendations of the administration boil down to the proposal that the Federal authorities grant the urbanists limited loans (to the tune of 50 million dollars) and the promise to help with the search for building sites.

It is significant that even these timorous recommendations met with frenzied opposition in Congress.

While idle discussions are going on regarding the building of new cities and rehabilitation of the old ones, the existing urban centres are undergoing a more and more serious crisis. Like a mirror, this crisis reflects many scourges assailing the American society: racial discrimination (13 million coloured people live in the ghettos of big cities), misery, degradation of public transport, decadence of education, growing criminality, etc.

The Black people, dismissed by planters in the South owing to mechanization of farming work, are migrating to the North in quest of a job. There, it is very hard for them to find employment and housing. Most of the time they will end by living in overpopulated ghettos in big cities.

As the war of aggression in Viet Nam began to drag on, the money earmarked by the Federal and State administrations for construction of dwellings was greatly curtailed.

We have been told that for the last few years, the New York municipality has not erected a single building. In that big city, besides the sky-scrapers there constantly exist huts infested with rats as at the time when Charles Dickens visited it in 1842. In fact, the Puerto-Ricans who live in it for example, can count only on starvation wages from their jobs, if any. They fight desperately against rats, cockroaches and bugs which infest their houses. Vermin recede but re-appear at any moment. And what is called in the official jargon "liquidation of huts" is in fact a war against the hut dwellers. For, in such a locality as the Manhattan island, Wall Street had many quarters of old buildings flattened to build in their stead a *de luxe* residential complex whose rent is out of the reach of people with small incomes and where live professional men and businessmen. The old shacks' dwellers must thus move to other similar quarters, but they must pay a rent 30 or 60 per cent higher than the old ones. In American cities the degradation of public transport is most striking. Frequently in small cities, they are simply non-existent. In addition, polluted air poisons the inhabitants, and rivers are turned into gutters by chemical enterprises, thus generating many diseases.

At present each important city is divided into two zones: the down-town quarters inhabited mainly by coloured people, generally the poor, and the suburbs by the well-off whites. And these suburbs attract more and more the investments of the "big business." According to the Suburban Action Institute, 80 per cent of the new jobs created in big cities in the last two decades are in the suburbs.

Owing to the migration of the well-to-do people to the suburbs, there is a curtailment of the aggregate amount of income taxes in the down-town quarters and a decrease in revenues for the municipal treasury. The result is that most of the cities experience an acute financial crisis. Thus in Philadelphia, in 1969, the municipal authorities had no means to run schools, to supply the policlinic with medicines and to keep the streets, bridges, etc., in good order.

The town quarters evacuated by the Whites are turned into ghettos for the Blacks, and the flow of these from the Southern States makes the cities overcrowded and worsens the housing crisis.

In the summer of 1969, to a question whether the housing problem is serious, Secretary G. Romney replied: "Very serious. The present supply of housing is being allowed to deteriorate at a rate faster than we can build new houses as replacements. As a matter of fact, the housing shortage at present is the biggest in our history."

Despite all this, in the fall of 1969, the Nixon Administration cut by 42 per cent the appropriations for the construction of cheap-rent dwellings to replace the slums in the cities.

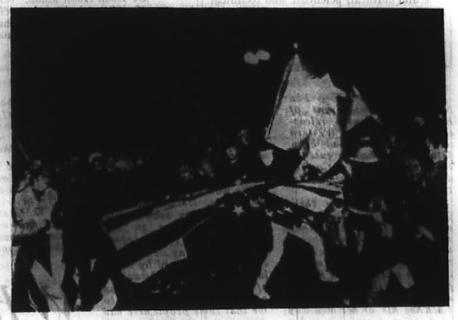
Thus the delegates at the 46th Congress of the Urban National League held at the end of 1969 were at one to foresee an aggravation in the seventies of the urban crisis. Dr Philip Hauser, an urbanist of the Chicago University, said at the Congress that, "There is yet no indication That this nation will do very much to bring under control during the seventies the acute and chronic problems which plague our cities and which threaten the viability of American society."

Now some words about the **education and public health crisis.** One of the effects of the crisis of education (general and vocational) due mostly to the shortage of school sites and teachers, chiefly in the poor's quarters, is that the schools turn out "functionally illiterate" people, that is, those who are not capable of doing a qualified job in the conditions of technico-scientific revolution. According to the *New York Times*, Nathan Brown, New York municipal school Inspector-General, recognized that many pupils, chiefly in the ghettos, had a narrow range of knowledge. In New York, the schools get only trifling subsidies, and run short of teachers and the classrooms are overcrowded.

As far as public health is concerned, the free hospitals are thronged with people, and a bed in a good clinic is inaccessible to the poor. A hospital day costs about 100 dollars. At present hospital fees and prices of medicines are rising most rapidly. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that "the costs of hospital care have skyrocketed to the point where a lot of Americans would almost rather die than get seriously sick. For going to the hospital can mean going broke, literally nowadays" (February 1970).

The American people long more and more for a national law on public health which would at least guarantee a minimum assistance to all the citizens and the improvement of the medical services.

(*To be continued*)



US mass demonstration against the Viet Nam war.

US Crimes Must Be...

(*Continued from page 8*)

Concluding this part devoted to chemical warfare, the Black Book draws the following conclusions:

"In short, the whole thing indubitably establishes some facts:

1. — The US has unquestionably been utilizing chemical weapons in South Viet Nam on a very large scale for years.

2. — The chemical agents in use, by their nature or the conditions of their application, are toxical products and have disastrous effects on man, to be followed by physical troubles which could lead to death.

For the second time with gases and for the first time with toxics of the defoliant type, human history has witnessed the death of men from chemical warfare.

3. — Chemical warfare attacks not only human beings, but also nature as a whole. It tends to destroy life. It constitutes a **biocide**. Its effects do not limit to the present but heavily handicap the future, either by destroying the ecologic equilibrium for an indefinite duration, sometimes the soil itself, or by causing the birth of monsters.

4. — The full effects of chemical warfare are still unpredictable. No scientist would venture to affirm that the continued use of chemical weapons in the future will not entail worse consequences than those already known. Uncheckable mechanisms may be touched off.

5. — This chemical warfare, made in Viet Nam for the first time, obviously bears an experimental character. The Pentagon is carrying out the field test, in Viet Nam, of a perfecting system of 'strategic models' calculated by computers. It has tested a whole series of new weapons, the CBU, chemical and bacteriological weapons, which the US military-industrial complex has brought to perfection and developed on a large scale, without anything in common with the war in Viet Nam."

(*To be continued*)

21st Founding Anniversary of the PR of China (October 1, 1970)

"Great Chinese Revolution Has Vigorously Stimulated Asian, African and Latin American Revolutionary Movements"

ON the evening of September 29 in Hanoi, the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the Viet Nam-China Friendship Society and the DRVN Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries held a grand commemorative meeting for the 21st founding anniversary of the People's Republic of China (October 1, 1970).

Following the opening speech of Hoang Quoc Viet, VNFF CC member, VNFF CC Presidium member and Chairman of the Viet Nam – China Friendship Society, Dang Thai Mai, Vice-Chairman of the Viet-nam-China Friendship Society, warmly hailed the brotherly Chinese people's glorious day.

"After the Great October Russian Revolution," said he, "the triumph of the national, democratic and people's revolution of China and the birth of the People's Republic of China were the most momentous events in world revolutionary history. They have tilted the balance of forces in favour of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace; they have given a strong fillip to the revolutionary movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

He extolled the splendid successes gained by the Chinese people in all fields, economic and cultural, scientific and technical.

He strongly condemned the occupation of Taiwan by the American imperialists and denounced their obstinate and dark designs to create two Chinas and refusal to recognize the legitimate right of the People's Republic of China at the UNO.

Praising the fraternal and unshakeable friendship between the two peoples, Dang Thai Mai expressed, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, the most sincere gratitude to Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people for their priceless support and effective aid to the Vietnamese just resistance against American aggression.

He wished the Chinese people new successes in their socialist building and in their struggle against imperialism headed by US imperialism.

A gala of Chinese films was organized in Hanoi under the auspices of the DRVN Ministry of Culture to mark the occasion.

THE Viet Nam-China Friendship Society sponsored on September 26 a talk by Dr Doan Xuan Muon, who had just carried out a mission of scientific study in China, on the medical achievements of the People's Republic of China.

DRVN LEADERS HAIL NEW SOVIET SPACE EXPLOIT

PRESIDENT Ton Duc Thang; Le Duan, First Secretary of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee; Truong Chinh, Chairman of the DRVN National Assembly Standing Committee; and Premier Pham Van Dong on Sept. 27 sent a joint message to L. I. Brezhnev, Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee; N.V. Podgorny, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; and A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, hailing the success of *Luna* 16.

The message read in full as follows:

"We greatly rejoice at learning that the Soviet automatic station Luna 16 *had made a soft landing on the moon surface, successfully accomplished its programme for scientific researches and returned safely to earth, bringing back moon rock samples.*

This unprecedented achievement of Soviet science and technology in general and Soviet space science in particular, spelled out the marvellous standard of Soviet automation technology and telemechanics which have opened immense prospects for the use of automatic apparatuses in the research on, and survey of, the moon and planets, and in carrying out other space researches in a steady and effective way.

Elated at, and proud of, this new and brilliant feat of the brotherly Soviet people, the Vietnamese people consider this a strong encouragement for their resistance to US aggression, for national salvation, and their socialist construction.

On behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the DRVN National Assembly and Government, we wish to convey to the Soviet people, the CPSU, the USSR Supreme Soviet and Government our warmest congratulations. We are convinced that the Soviet Union will record still more brilliant achievements that will bring glory to socialist science and technology and to mankind.

Please convey our warm greetings to the Soviet scientists, engineers and workers who have contributed to this wonderful exploit."

What They Saw in Free Cambodia

EDITOR'S NOTE — *The National United Front of Kampuchea recently released a number of Western journalists who had been detained for having entered the liberated zone of Cambodia without permission from the Front.*

After their release these journalists wrote several acticles to relate what they had seen and heard during their detention periods. What they said is only part of the immense picture of the Khmer people's resistance to the US aggressors and their quislings. Each has his or her own way of putting across his or her impressions but all of them spoke of the devastations caused by the Americans and their puppet armies, the humane treatment they were accorded, and above all the high dedication of the Khmer combatants and people in their national liberation fight.

Below are excerpts from their articles:

DIARY of **Claude Muller** published in the French magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur* on July 27 and August 2, 1970. She and Jean-Marie Vallet – a young French professor who accompanied her – were arrested on a Sunday and were taken through many villages:

Monday

We resumed our journey. Our car stopped at every hamlet or village. Our guards wanted to show us to the population. The same recurred ten or twenty times. The driver sounded his horn and people came running. They glued their faces to the glass windows to watch us for a few minutes.

Again we halted and again we were questioned, this time more seriously.

The man who put us questions jotted down notes on a small copy-book. He had around him some documents and maps. I asked him whether we would be kept for a long time. He did not answer. Then they took us to the largest house in the village, and the parade began.

Since yesterday we had been constantly harassed by being looked into the face by dozens of peasants. Our host had guessed it. He explained to me that some people here had never seen a European woman, hence their curiosity.

We found portraits of Prince Norodom Sihanouk everywhere around us. We asked questions. "Norodom Sihanouk," they told us, "is the father of all of us. He'll come back soon. We are waiting for him."

In the afternoon, the whole village listened over the radio to the prince who spoke from Peking. A loudspeaker, set up at the village communal house, re-broadcasted his speech to those who could not afford a transistor.

The B52s were always there. They were even coming nearer and in the small hours of the next day, I was thrown to the ground by the violent blast. The whole house shook. They told me not to take fright. If the bombing became dangerous they would take us to shelter.

Tuesday

There was some bustle around us. Trucks, taken from the plantations, came and went, loaded with combatants. We also saw for the first time armed women. They looked very young. I was given a pair of trousers, a khaki shirt, a brush-hat and rubber sandals. We again set out in a jeep and penetrated into the jungle

This was to be the hardest moments in our short captivity. We rode on an incredible labyrinth of jungle tracks that ran beneath the trees. Small wooden bridges spanned across the streams. On the fetid soil we could see several traces left by car tyres. We met many groups: soldiers going in single file with rifles and bazookas, Khmer peasants with heavy loads, cyclists with their bikes overloaded with tools, iron sheets and rice bags. Our driver put on speed...

spoke, then one of them said in broken French and English: "We understand you are a journalist. We would like to talk to you."

Talk we did about politics, my family, my views on the war.

That evening we moved once again, not far this time, to a small village schoolhouse that would serve as my home for the next ten days. Slowly my life was settling into the semblance of a routine.

...It had four windows, but they were seldom opened. I was told that the danger from planes and spies was too great.

I depended on them [the guards] for my every need: food, water, cigarettes, paper and pen. These they provided in abundant supply – almost too abundant...

A bond was forming between us. I could almost watch it growing stronger daily. Earlier, when they clicked their weapons in the darkness, I would instinctively catch my breath, never quite sure what would happen next. After a week, the windows came open a tiny crack, and finally they were flung open altogether. Increasingly, I was left alone for long periods. After ten days, the soldiers gave me a pair of sandals – or "Zep," as I learned to call them – cut from an old automobile tyre.

... Weeks before in Phnom Penh, around the swimming pool at the Hotel Royal, we correspondents had told each other that Premier Lon Nol's regime was in trouble. But we never guessed how deeply the trouble ran. Now I had seen the beginnings of a Khmer liberation army, and it seemed to be growing stronger... This was no phantom army.

August 21 was the most memorable day I spent in the village. I received visitors, the people of the village. Almost all of them brought some gift – a few bananas, a rice cake, a package of cigarettes. In Buddhist fashion, I would fold my hands and bow my head, whispering in Khmer "Thank you" and "Long life." Then we would sit cross-legged on the floor facing one another, not saying a word, drinking tea, smiling and, with the children, laughing. In a few minutes they would go, and I would bow again. They would bow in return.

Next morning, I went through the promised ceremony and received my release order from the Khmer representative of the Shoun front.

(Continued page 7)

TIME correspondent **Robert Anson** wrote in his article headlined "Report from a Captured Correspondent":

... The next night I left the village and, on foot and by car in the rain, was led to a small factory. Inside, the soldiers found several boards and laid them on the earthen floor as my bed... One of the soldiers fetched a blanket from his pack and wrapped it around me.

I awoke to find two visitors sitting quietly a few feet away from me. It was some moments before they

South Viet Nam

MILITARY OPERATIONS

Mekong Delta:

– Two civil-guard companies wiped out, one battalion of the puppet 14th Regiment decimated in the area of Cam Hill, *An Giang* province (Sept. 14 and 16).

– A civil-guard squad badly mauled near *Ben Tre* provincial capital (Sept. 22).

– 2,800 enemy troops put out of action in *My Tho, An Giang* and *Ben Tre* provinces (Sept. 1-15).

Central Viet Nam:

– *Coc Bai* area (O'Reilly base): nearly 300 enemy casualties, 6 aircraft downed or destroyed on the ground (Sept. 19-24).

– 6,500 enemy soldiers killed or wounded, 42 planes downed or destroyed on the ground, 300 military vehicles wrecked, including 82 tanks and armoured cars, and 16 fuel depots set ablaze in central Trung Bo (Central Viet Nam) (Aug. 28-Sept. 12).

ON Mme NGUYEN THI BINH'S CLARIFICATIONS

(Continued from page 2)

Nixon claimed that Thieu-Ky-Khiem is an "elected government," but everybody knows that they are erected, fed and protected by the US, that they have not been elected by the people but put in power by the US through rigged elections.

Now Nixon wants another faked election to maintain Thieu-Ky-Khiem. But how can a "general election" be "free and democratic" when it is organized by Thieu-Ky-Khiem fascists at the gunpoints, bayonets and truncheons of more than one million US and satellite troops and the Saigon mercenaries, policemen and plain-clothes agents? So long as the US troops continue to occupy South Viet Nam there can be no right to self-determination for the South Vietnamese people. If the South Vietnamese people are to exercice their right to self-determination, the US must withdraw completely and unconditionally and in a short period of time all its troops and troops of its satellites from South Viet Nam.

In short, Nixon's protestation of respect for the "right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people" is precisely its denial. All pleas for such a reactionary position are aimed at maintaining Thieu-Ky-Khiem as an instrument for oppressing the people, realizing US neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam and keeping Viet Nam permanently partitioned...

In sharp contrast with the US position is that of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the RSVN PRG regarding the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people.

The SVN NFL is the leader of the South Vietnamese people who are valiantly resisting the US aggression to defend their sacred national rights. With their good will and serious attitude, the head of the delegation of the SVN NFL – now the delegation of the RSVN PRG – on March 8, 1969 made public the 10-point overall solution, pointing out among other things: The people of South Viet Nam settle themselves their own affairs without foreign interference; they decide themselves the political regime of South Viet Nam through free and democratic general elections. Through free and democratic general elections, a Constituent Assembly will be set up, a constitution worked out, and a coalition government of South Viet Nam symbolizing national concord and the broad union of all social strata established. During the transitional period from the restoration of peace to general elections, the political forces representing the various social strata and political tendencies in South Viet Nam which stand for peace, independence and neutrality, will enter into talks to set up a provisional coalition government based on the principle of equality, democracy and mutual respect. This provisional coalition government shall held free and democratic general elections and implement agreements reached upon among the parties concerned.

Elaborating further on the position of her government, Mme Nguyen Thi Binh pointed out on Sept. 17 that to achieve real peace in South Viet Nam, an administration favouring peace, independence, neutrality and democracy without Thieu-Ky-Khiem should be set up in Saigon. The RSVN PRG is ready for talks with such an administration on a political solution for the South Viet Nam problem to stop the war and restore peace. During the transitional period from the restoration of peace to general elections, in order to realize the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people and carry out really free and democratic general elections, there must be a broad provisional coalition government.

Minister Nguyen Thi Binh also indicated that the provisional coalition government will have three components: personalities of the RSVN PRG; those of the Saigon administration, having really peace, independence, neutrality and democracy at heart; and representatives of various political and religious forces and tendencies standing for peace, independence, neutrality and democracy. The provisional coalition government will organize really free and democratic general elections and at the same time carry out a policy of national concord, ensure democratic freedoms, enforce the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people and pursue a foreign policy of peace and neutrality during the transitional period from the restoration of peace to general elections.

Comparing that position of the PRG to the colonialist and obdurate stance of the US government, people have very clearly realized who is right and who is wrong, who wants a peaceful settlement of the South Viet Nam problem and who while speaking of peace tries to prolong the war and realize neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam.

NHAN DAN
(The People)
Sept. 28, 1970

WHAT THEY SAW IN FREE CAMBODIA

(Continued from page 6)

RICHARD Dudman, correspondent of the *St Louis Post Dispatch*, had this to say after 40 days of captivity in the liberated zone of Cambodia:

For more than two weeks we fled westward in the midst of a massive migration of guerilla troops and Cambodian peasants.

Night after night our Land-Rover *overtook long lines of shadowy figures, walking in single file or sprawled on the edge of the dirt roads.*

A dirty rear curtain was kept down much of the time. At frequent stops where a silent sentry sometimes gave a brief signal with a flashlight, we usually were directed to shield our faces with the cotton "Batik Sarongs" that has been given us for a change of clothing.

But sometimes, by moonlight or the frequent phosphorous flares protecting allied outposts a few miles away, we could make out that the troops carried mostly repeating rifles or carbines. Some bore the small haversack that we came to know as standard guerilla equipment.

... The fleeing peasants had with them all the household goods they could carry – mostly pots, dishware and a little food. Several women whom we picked up with babies in their arms, as well as lugging bundles and chickens, spoke only Cambodian. Occasionally they shouted greetings to acquaintances among the troops that had passed them earlier and whom our car overtook.

We saw hundreds. Both civilian and military. One night alone, I counted 200.

In this massive migration we felt that we were watching the terrorization of the peasants of Cambodia. We felt we were observing the welding together of the local population with the guerillas. The peasants were turning to their fighters as their best friends. We felt that this held the most serious significance for American policy.

At each house where we stopped, the villagers appeared to offer willing co-operation and friendship to the guerillas. Our guards told us that our rice was furnished free by the peasants when it was available. But that side dishes such as vegetables, chicken, dog, and in one case, porcupine, were purchased. We saw the soldier in charge of supplies for our little group peel off a few "riels" to pay for a chicken.

We had a number of these political discussions with the guerillas during the 40 days we spent as their prisoners in Cambodia. The conversations were revealing, for they showed a shrewd political sophistication and knowledge of the US.

There never was any attempt to brainwash us. We experienced none of the brainwashing techniques you hear of. There was no effort to humiliate us, to starve us or tire us so that our resistance weakened.

During the two weeks we spent in and around the base-camp, behind the guerilla lines, we often heard our captors discuss the revolution they are waging against heavy odds.

Several guerillas told us, in almost identical words, "to live without freedom and independence is as good as being dead. To die for the revolution is nothing." The individual is submerged in the struggle. Even the family, so important in Asia, takes second place to the revolution. One of our five guards told us one day: "We miss our families, but we have an obligation to oppose American aggression. When we have won, we will own peace."

... I had no opportunity to talk to high-level policy-makers. Yet, it was a unique chance to see the war from the other side.

What I saw and heard during nearly six weeks as a captive in liberated Cambodia convinced me that President Nixon's policies inadvertently were helping to create conditions for a Communist-controlled "people's war," a savage, prolonged struggle by an elusive, determined guerilla front with strong popular support.

The two-month-old invasion by the US and South Viet Nam has not succeeded despite the capture of enemy weapons and supplies. Instead it has created hatred of the US.

American shells and bombs mean to Cambodians that the US is waging an unprovoked, colonialist war against them. They see America as would-be successor to the French, trying to turn back the clock of history in the face of a swelling spirit of Asia for Asians.

"US CRIMES Must Be Considered in Their Real Context"

(Continued)

Houses and gardens in Giong Trom (Ben Tre province) after US artillery shellings and toxic chemical sprayings.

BIOCIDE UNDER EXPERIMENT

THE part of the Black Book devoted to chemical warfare carries on the one hand "the Vietnamese indictment," and on the other "data from American sources." The concordance of the information from these two sources is quite striking, lending great convincingness to the charge.

It has been established that from 1961 (when the Ngo Dinh Diem administration was shaken to its foundations by the "chain uprisings" in the countryside) the Americans began experimenting chemical warfare in South Viet Nam. In the following year, this was put into practice and carried out on an ever larger scale. The area exposed to toxic chemicals shamelessly called "defoliants" increased from 11,030 ha in 1962 to 320,000 in 1963, 500,230 in 1964, 700,000 in 1965, 876,490 then 903,320 and 989,300 respectively in 1966, 1967 and 1968. Under Nixon, in the first 10 months of 1969, it reached the 905,780 mark (page 43).

The number of victims of toxic chemical sprays increased accordingly: from 1,120 in 1962, it went up to 140,240 in 1965, 238,000 in 1966, and 302,890 in 1968. So did American appropriations for these operations: 17.1 million dollars worth of "herbicides" in 1965, 30.3 million in 1966, 40 million in 1967 and 70.8 million in 1968, etc. (*The Guardian*, June 25, 1968) (page 43).

A mother and her child killed by American troops in front of their dwelling house. (from Life, Dec. 5, 1969)

The particular emphasis laid by the authors of the Black Book on "**defoliation**" shows its full value at present. Recently, in the name of the US, Nixon publicly renounced the initiative of chemical warfare. Nevertheless, he made it clear that this did not rule out "defoliants" and other gases so far used by the GIs in South Viet Nam, and described them as harmless substances with which American housewives do their gardening without any risk.

They consist mostly of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T and also of cacodylic acid; they kill first of all rice and other food crops, and also birds, poultry and fish. In high doses, they deprive the population, already undernourished, of a much more important quantity of food, considering the extent of the affected areas. Other types, such as picloram, are persistent and sterilizing, retaining phytotoxicity for months, even for decades. The book quotes Mrs Mousseau of the National Scientific Research Centre, an expert in ecology (Orsay Studies Day, Jan. 21, 1970) as saying:

"The tropical forest is the only habitat, and the specific habitat, for an immense number of species of insects, birds, reptiles, mammals and epiphytes. These organisms have their foods, nests and territories in the vegetal canopy and one must not expect that they survive after defoliation. The Pfeiffer report is accurate on this point: not a single worm-eating or fruit-eating bird could be found in virtually all the mangroves that had been destroyed in the Saigon river estuary (...).

"In some areas where application of defoliants was repeated 2 or 3 times, more than 50% of the vegetation was destroyed, including fungi and bacteria, and soil erosion was accelerated. This soil risks either becoming baked into laterite if it is in the dry season, or being swept away by the torrential rains of the wet season inasmuch as the soil pellicle in these areas is very thin. The risks of loss of the agricultural potential are therefore considerable." (page 87)

And Mme Mousseau concluded her study by saying:

"Let's lastly stress the multitude of possible consequences which we still do not know perfectly well (effects on the water, on possible climatologic changes, on the production of fruit trees and the acceleration of the laterization process, effect of the residues of the herbicide on the microfauna and microflora of the soil, etc.).

"Let's say it out loud once again: it is a hocus-pocus which can be costly for the whole of SEA. Right now, it is necessary to start accurate research programmes in these fields and assist particularly qualified Vietnamese biologists in bringing these investigations to fruition." (page 88)

The direct effect of the "defoliants" on human organism is far more dangerous than the Pentagon wants us to believe it to be. Used in Viet Nam in excessively higher doses than in American households, they have affected hundreds of thousands of whom lethally.

More serious still are their genetic sequels. On this subject, the book cites the statement made on Studies Day, Jan. 21, 1970, at the Orsay Faculty of Sciences, by Prof. Minkowski, of the Paris Faculty of Medicine. This highly authoritative pediatrician, director of the Neonatal Research Centre, thinks, in this connection, of a "new thalidomide affair": the chemical agents used by the Americans seem, in all evidence, to be at the root of human congenital deformities about which the Public Health Service of the NFL and the PRG as well as "legal" Saigon newspapers have alerted public opinion since 1969. This minor reservation in the expert's conclusion stems from the lack of valid statistics by the strict standards of any scientist of conscience. However, tests conducted at the American Cancer Institute have demonstrated with certainty the teratogenic effects of 2,4,5-T on the rat and the foetotoxical action of 2,4-D on the mouse (1). The risk is much greater in Viet Nam where sprays have been undertaken, more often, in massive doses (2). A calculation has been made, showing that in the normal dose used in South Viet Nam, a woman in the sprayed area, in drinking the contaminated water, absorbs a quantity of 2,4,5-T thirty times more than that considered toxic by the Americans and slightly smaller than the dose which produces foetal malformations in one-third of the rats experimented on.

From the chapter dealing with **toxic gases**, it is clear that the Americans possess a long list of products, ranging from "lethal agents" such as the VX or the sarin CB... to "incapacitating agents" such as the BZ the effects of which is reminiscent of that of the LSD 25 hallucinating drugs, the DM (adamsite)... and "neutralizing agents" — CS, CS1, CS2, CN, CNS, etc., often used against "rioting students." The book points out that no line could be drawn between these 3 categories: in sufficient doses, all these products are lethal especially when they are utilized against civilian refugees in covered shelters as is a frequent occurrence in South Viet Nam where toxic gases are part of the weaponry of American troops (stated by an authorised American spokesman in Sept. 1965). In 1936, according to figures quoted by the editors from American documents, the US bought a quantity of toxic agents 16 times greater than in 1964. According to the *Washington Post* (July 24, 1969), between 1966 and 1969, it used 13,736,000 pounds of CS, an amount sufficient for 80,000 sq. miles, whereas South Viet Nam's area is only 66,000!

The Black Book makes a pertinent remark on the methods of application of toxic chemicals, which have considerably varied in the course of the fighting. If in an initial stage "defoliants" were supposed to be resorted to to clear strips through the greenery along communication lines, they are now destined to kill crops to starve the population. Gas which was first dispensed in street battles serves now to flush out the farmers from their villages or to kill them. The authors of the book, relevantly remind the reader of the process employed by the Nazis with the sinister Zyklon B: presented at first as a simple "desinfectant" the product fast became the agent used in gas chambers at Hitlerite camps of extermination.

(Continued page 5)

(1) *For the 2, 4-D, at the concentration of 4.6 mg/kg: 39% of the deformities; at that of 46.6 mg/kg: 100% of the deformities. For the 2, 4, 5-T, 59% of the deformities at the dose of 110 mg/kg on a mouse — Ref. Report of Cancer Institute, 1967. This report was regarded as classified by US military authorities and only leaked to the public.*

(2) *US Army Field Manual recommends a dose 13 times higher than that indicated by the producer, Dow Chemical Co., which has, however, specified that the buyer assumes all risks of utilization or handling of the product. In case of emergency (A-A fire, engine trouble, etc., something which is frequent) spraying planes are authorized to jettison in 30 seconds their cargo of herbicide, and this will bring about a concentration 130 times higher than that recommended.*